

A CHRISTIAN NEWSLETTER ON INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

Department of International Affairs
National Council of the Churches of Christ in the U.S.A.
297 Fourth Avenue - New York 10, N.Y.

Volume 4, Number 1

\$1.00 per year

January, 1956

REVIEW OF THE TENTH GENERAL ASSEMBLY OF THE UNITED NATIONS

The tenth General Assembly of the United Nations adjourned on December 20. As in past years, officers of the National Council's Department of International Affairs were in attendance. Certain recommendations were laid before the members of the United States delegation by officers of the National Council during the Assembly Session. In their letter to the U.S. delegation, Dr. Eugene Carson Blake, President of the National Council; C. Arild Olsen, Executive Secretary of the Division of Christian Life and Work; and Dr. Walter W. Van Kirk, Executive Director of the Department of International Affairs, made clear the fact that from its establishment the churches in America had given strong support to the United Nations. The replies forthcoming from this communication indicate that the U.S. delegates to the UN deeply appreciate the interest of the churches manifested in their deliberations.

There follows a brief digest of more important decisions of the Assembly.

I. ATOMS FOR PEACE

By a unanimous vote - rare in the proceedings of the United Nations - the General Assembly adopted a resolution to establish an International Commission on the Peaceful Uses of Atomic Energy. This action brought to mind the historic occasion when in December, 1953, President Eisenhower appealed to the nations of the world to divert nuclear energy from preparations for war to the arts of peace. The Soviet Union which, at the Eighth Assembly, had voiced its opposition to President Eisenhower's atoms for peace proposal, got into line when the votes were counted in the Tenth Assembly. Such is the power of world public opinion, in the development of which the churches have played a conspicuous part.

Under the provisions of the Assembly's resolution, the newly projected Commission on the Peaceful Uses of Atomic Energy will hold its first meeting in Washington, D.C., January 23, 1956. At that time the structural framework of the Commission will be set up and its relations with the United Nations determined.

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PEOPLE URGED TO WAKE UP ON FOREIGN AID ISSUE BY GOVERNMENT; CHURCHES HAVE MORE TO DO

"Impelled by a unanimous feeling that economic and social questions are assuming increasing importance on the international scene," the U.S. delegation to the Tenth General Assembly of the UN joined in a statement to the Secretary of State. He released it to the nation at the suggestion of the President in a press conference on January 11, saying the President and he were in general agreement with it.

"Unless the country as a whole wakes up to all its implications," declared the statement, the U.S.A. could lose this world contest. "The present period in history may one day be recognized as a major turning point in the struggle between communism and freedom. It appears to be clearly a shift in the cold war, in which economic and social problems have moved to the forefront.

"Members of the United States Delegation during this General Assembly session have observed the effectiveness of the Soviet tactics under these new conditions. This can be seen both in the way the Soviet bloc delegates work in various United Nations meetings, and also in the voting that occurs in many committees. As we observed maneuvers, we were conscious that the Soviet Union, elsewhere in the world, was using economic and social collaboration as a means for jumping military as well as political barriers. Examples of this can be found in India, Egypt and Burma.

"We believe that the United States must counter these Soviet efforts. We can succeed, not by outbidding communism in sheer amounts of economic aid, but by making newly independent and newly articulate peoples feel that they can best satisfy their wants by becoming and remaining part of the community of free nations.

"We welcome more emphasis on economic and educational endeavors, for we have a proven experience in these fields....We are in a contest in the field of economic development of underdeveloped countries which is bitterly competitive. Defeat in this contest could be as disastrous as defeat in an armaments race....We could lose this economic contest unless the country as a whole wakes up to all its implications."

Asked whether release of this statement meant that the Secretary and the President felt that the country as a whole needs to be waked up to the need and whether it was time to call the country's attention now to the President's long-range proposal for foreign aid, Mr. Dulles replied affirmatively. He also said he thinks the President's proposal has not yet been adequately appreciated.

The above event occurred at a time when it was reported that an influential segment of the Midwest press was calling for curtailment, and in some quarters, even cessation of aid. Also, Senator Walter F. George (D., Ga.), chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, heretofore most cooperative in bipartisan leadership in foreign affairs, now at the beginning of this political year, criticized recent conduct of foreign policy and came out against the administration's foreign aid program.

Since the November Newsletter when the need for foreign aid was analyzed at length with the challenge presented for an increased program, a series of inter-related events have occurred:

It was reported in the press in mid-November that leadership within the administration proposed to cut back foreign aid by 20% this year, putting that in a sort of reserve fund: Widespread expression of conviction came from the churches that such foreign aid should not be cut back but increased. Secretary Dulles, later gave assurance that there would be no cut-back on such aid; indeed, he said he attached growing importance to it. Again, on December 20, he made clear the further policy of the administration that such foreign aid must be considered not temporary but a permanent part of American foreign policy at about the present level of \$4,000,000,000 a year.

In the State of the Union message, the President suggested a foreign aid program at only a slightly increased level, with some additional military aid funds and a lesser increase in economic aid. He also called for an increase in overseas information service. One new

feature of his recommendations on foreign aid was for authority for the Administration to make long-range commitments. Thus the U.S.A. could engage cooperatively with other nations, private enterprises, and international organizations such as the World Bank in long-term projects of "more permanent value" in the development of countries in the Middle East, Asia and Africa. Such flexibility is imperative in the new situation in those parts of the world, if the U.S.A. is to represent dependability, and if the U.S.A. is to undertake such long-term responsibility as we are uniquely fitted to assume in our leadership in the world.

There is considerable hostility in Congress to the President's proposals because many of their leaders felt there was no adequate interpretation of the foreign aid program in the Administration's briefing session with them.

All these events lay a tremendous responsibility on the churches and churchmen for immediate, vigorous action: To let the President, the Secretary of State, and Senators and Representatives know of our strong support for as much effort as they have made in this field; to stress to them again the need for U.S. emphasis in such programs not primarily on military aid, but on economic funds and technical assistance which will aid in the economic growth of the under-developed areas. The churches have been relatively faithful in presenting the importance of economic aid and technical assistance to members and committees of the Senate and House. They must now redouble such efforts because of the hostility aroused in some congressmen as explained above, and the pressures which are brought on Congress in an election year to cut down expenditures, budgets and taxes.

The churches and their members have been at the forefront of leadership in education and action for a more enlightened foreign policy. Now the terrific pressure of the communist world offensive has been shifted to economic, social, commercial, psychological and diplomatic thrusts. Thus they have seized the initiative from the free world in the very techniques in which the U.S.A. and her allies could excel. In face of the belated and somewhat feeble recognition of this by the administration and of the political pressures on Senators and Congressmen now, what will the churches do? Can they once more bring such moral leadership to the life of our nation in its international responsibilities that the government, in both administrative and legislative branches, will not only support such minimum programs as proposed, but may develop a stronger, more effective program which will restore the initiative to the free world in the struggle in the Middle East, Asia and Africa? There over half the world's people live, millions of them in underdeveloped conditions, in basic need, and as yet uncommitted in the communist versus free world struggle for the minds and allegiance of men.

Christians must make clear the grounds on which we support increased programs of economic aid and technical assistance: These programs are for meeting human need, as a creative, curative part of U.S. foreign policy. These have never been supported by Christians on the ground that they would "buy friendship." While they are effective against communist "peaceful" offensives, and can be realistically seen in this frame of reference, that is not the basic motivation for Christians. We support such programs because they are expressions through government of concern for human need and effective meeting of it. On the question of the communists performing what they promise, that is in one sense irrelevant to the imperative that Christians must be concerned in any event, for the needs of hundreds of millions of human beings. However, an important point at the moment, granting that the communists do often fail to perform what they promise, is that naive, unlettered multitudes of the underdeveloped areas do not yet have that knowledge. So the initiative passes to the communists with their promises. Now, to prove our genuine concern, we must do more both in educating masses of the world's peoples as to what we have done, what we will do, and why we are doing it, and also do more in performance ourselves in beneficial trade, in economic development, in technical assistance, and in other such constructive programs of mutual aid.

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For some time it had appeared that this Agency might come into being independently of the United Nations. Church leaders were quick to point out the undesirability of such a development. In their letter to the U.S. delegation, officers of the National Council said: "It seems clear to us that the proposed International Atomic Energy Agency should be constituted within the framework of the United Nations." It is gratifying this was done; it means that this agency will be kept under the scrutiny of the world community and its operations given an international thrust.

The action of the General Assembly followed quickly upon the widely heralded International Technical Conference on the Peaceful Uses of Atomic Energy that had met in Geneva during the summer of 1955. It was there shown that science could not be contained by iron curtains. With the establishment of the Atoms for Peace Agency mankind will be given an opportunity to demonstrate its fitness for survival.

II. TOWARD A MORE INCLUSIVE UN

The churches have supported the principle of universalism respecting membership in the United Nations. This principle is not to be subverted, however, by the admission of any State, such as Communist China, that is in contempt of the UN.

All things considered, a step in the right direction was taken when the Assembly voted to admit 16 new members. This was made possible by a compromise procedure in the Security Council, in which both the United States and the Soviet Union gave ground. Thus was ended five years of wrangling. The new members are Albania, Jordan, Ireland, Portugal, Hungary, Italy, Austria, Rumania, Bulgaria, Finland, Ceylon, Nepal, Libya, Cambodia, Laos and Spain. A veto by the Soviet Union blocked the admission of Japan; a veto by Nationalist China blocked Outer Mongolia.

When the question of new members was before the security Council, officers of the National Council addressed a communication to Ambassador Lodge including the following: "...An organization for world peace must be large enough for the whole world to fit into. We believe that world problems can be lessened as the organization for dealing with them is made more, not less inclusive.' The specific proposal now before the United Nations respecting the admission of certain states to membership in the UN has not been before our General Board. However, the statement quoted above would appear to be relevant, in principle, to the proposal now under consideration to make the UN a more inclusive body."

On the crucial question as to whether Communist China should hold China's place in the UN, the General Assembly voted (42 to 12, 6 abstentions) not to consider the question in the 1955 Session. The resolution to defer was introduced by the U.S.A. as a counter move to the Soviet Union's proposal to admit Communist China immediately.

III. UN CHARTER REVIEW

Much has been said and written during the past few years about reviewing and, possibly, revising the Charter of the UN. The churches have participated in this general debate. Opinion as to the wisdom of convening a review conference at an early date, say, in 1956, was pretty well divided both within and without the churches.

The General Assembly, on this issue, marched up the hill, took a good look, and by a vote of 43 to 6 approved in principle the calling of a conference of member states to review the Charter; then promptly proceeded to march down the hill.

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It was decided the review conference should not be held until the time is "appropriate", and the determination of a date that would be "appropriate" was left to the 1957 General Assembly. That Assembly might well decide that the "appropriate" time was not then in prospect, and order a further postponement.

The U.S.A. was among 43 nations approving the convening of a review conference. The Soviet block cast 6 negative votes saying proposals to review the Charter were motivated by desire to modify the veto rights of the Great Powers.

The churches should keep this matter on their study agenda, although no immediate action is called for. Events of the next two years, not academic theorizing of Charter revisionists will be decisive in determining when a review conference can "appropriately" be convened. During this period the churches would do well to press for the development of that international community of spirit, understanding, and reconciliation without which Charter review would have little, if any, meaning.

IV. REFUGEES

Refugees and displaced persons, and other victims of war and war's aftermath, keep knocking at the doors of the UN. This is not surprising. The refugee problem will be with us for a long, long time. There are no easy, quick solutions.

The office of UN High Commissioner for Refugees was given vigorous support by the Assembly. It could not, in good conscience, do less. An appeal was directed to all governments to contribute to the \$16,000,000 UN High Commissioner's refugee program. This program aims toward completing within 2 to 4 years the refugee heritage of World War II. It was reported that only about half of the \$4,200,000 needed to carry out projects planned for 1955 had come to hand. It can be stated with satisfaction, however, that the US is fully meeting its share of this moral obligation.

Palestinian Refugees. Each year the UN General Assembly declares the situation of these 1,000,000 refugees to be "a matter of grave concern." It is indeed. And a responsibility, too. A responsibility that cannot be lightly regarded by the Assembly.

The Tenth Assembly endorsed a resolution directing the UN Relief and Works Agency for Palestine Refugees to continue its program for the relief and rehabilitation of these hapless and homeless people. Governments were urged to make voluntary contributions to the Agency. This year, for the first time, private organizations were asked for assistance to others than "refugees" in a technical sense such as the frontier villagers in Jordan, certain "economic" refugees in Egypt, and the Gaza strip.

It becomes increasingly clear that the Palestinian Refugee Problem will not be permanently resolved until a political settlement has been achieved in and surrounding the area once known as Palestine. Whether the UN or the political leaders of the nations concerned can display the statesmanship and courage required to meet this issue with fairness and justice is one of the major questions of international diplomacy.

Korea. Closely allied, in spirit and purpose, to the UN Refugee program, is the far-flung rehabilitation operation of the United Nations Korean Reconstruction Agency. The Tenth Assembly, by a vote of 47 to 0, with 8 abstentions, commended the work of the Agency. Governments were asked to give every possible assistance in implementing approved programs of the Agency.

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Here, too, as in the case of the Palestinian refugees, a political settlement is desperately needed. Of interest, therefore, was the action of the Assembly in reaffirming its intention to continue the search for a solution of the Korean question in accordance with the objectives of the UN. The Secretary General was asked to place this question on the provisional agenda of the Eleventh General Assembly.

V. DISARMAMENT

The General Assembly, 56 to 7, approved in principle President Eisenhower's proposal for aerial reconnaissance and exchange of military blueprints. This was hailed by U.S. Ambassador Lodge as one of the outstanding achievements of the session.

A different view was expressed by Mr. Vasily V. Kuznetsov of the Soviet Union. He interpreted the Assembly disarmament resolution as a move to replace the question of disarmament and the prohibition of atomic weapons by another matter, the establishment of controls without disarmament." (N.Y. Times, Dec. 21, 1955)

In any event, the General Assembly has established the high priority of the President's proposal first given to the world at the "summit" conference in Geneva, last July. The inability of the Foreign Ministers of the Big Four to reach agreement in October on questions related to the reunification of Germany and general European security and a chilling effect on the General Assembly and accounts for the fact that so little progress was made in the disarmament field.

Despite all discouragements in disarmament negotiations, the urgency for continued efforts in the UN Commission has been underlined by recent events. Further developments in nuclear weapons by Soviet Russia are suggested by recent tests there. The United States has announced forthcoming new nuclear tests in the Pacific in the spring. With such events bringing increasing apprehension among the peoples of many nations and heightening tensions in international relations, it is all the more imperative that the major powers persist in seeking workable plans in the UN Disarmament Commission.

On disarmament, there were put into the hands of the participants in the UN Commission copies of the statement of the CCIA Executive Committee and the World Council of Churches Central Committee on "Disarmament and Peaceful Change." It is hoped that such imaginative and constructive thinking may help to bring some progress in continuing deliberations on disarmament.

VI. SECURITY COUNCIL ELECTIONS

On the first ballot on 14 October, the General Assembly elected Cuba by 53 votes and Australia by 42. However, repeated votes were taken in attempting to break the deadlock between the Philippines and Yugoslavia; on the thirty-sixth ballot it was Yugoslavia by 43 votes. The means by which the deadlock was broken was the drawing of lots before that last ballot, with the understanding that the winner would be elected but would resign midway in its tenure so the other could be elected for the last half. Such procedure does no credit to the UN. It is hoped it will not be repeated, and that future decisions will be developed not by lottery but by persuasive statesmanship.

VII. COLONIAL ISSUES AND DEPENDENT PEOPLES

Of major significance in the Tenth General Assembly of the UN were colonial issues and the emergence of former colonial peoples into new power in international relations. These were natural sequels to such nations sharing in the Bandung Conference with its resulting self-consciousness of their developing stature in the world picture. (to page 7)

REVOLUTION AND RECONCILIATION" THEME OF ECUMENICAL STUDENT CONFERENCE

With half of the delegates coming from lands overseas, more than 3,000 college students participated in the 17th Quadrennial Conference of the Student Volunteer Movement at Athens, Ohio, December 27-January 1. Sharing in sponsorship of the Conference were the United Student Christian Council and the World's Student Christian Federation. It was the largest meeting of its type ever held in this hemisphere and the first in which overseas students participated as full members rather than "visitors." The students came from every continent, representing 60 Protestant and Orthodox communions, from 500 U.S. college and university campuses. The program was built around the theme "Revolution and Reconciliation," and dealt with the role of the church and of the individual Christian in "today's world in revolution."

REVIEW OF THE TENTH GENERAL ASSEMBLY OF THE UNITED NATIONS (Continued)

The Assembly, under Arab, Asian, African influence, voted to debate French administration in Algeria: France walked out; saying such discussion would be interference in domestic affairs, claiming Algeria a part of Metropolitan France. After some weeks the Assembly unanimously voted not to consider the Algerian question further at the tenth session: France returned. Meanwhile, the Assembly postponed further consideration of the Moroccan question, expressing confidence that France and Morocco would find a satisfactory solution in negotiation.

Concerning Togoland, two votes were taken to help the people of both British and French Togoland take steps toward deciding their future status. The Assembly unanimously recommended termination of the UN tribunal in Libya and setting up in its place an Italian-Libyan Mixed Arbitration Commission. The Committee on Information from Non-Self-Governing Territories was given a three year extension of life by a vote of 54 to 1, Belgium alone opposing, with British and South Africa abstaining.

With the emergence of new nations which were formerly colonies into new importance and with the reception of sixteen new members including several such countries, it may be expected that future sessions of the UN will witness an increasing significance of such nations and such issues.

VIII. HUMAN RIGHTS

A new, consolidated program of advisory services on human rights was voted by the Assembly. Additional non-member states were invited to accede to the convention relating to the status of stateless persons. The Assembly voted to consider again at its next session the Draft International Covenants on Human Rights, Recommendations concerning International Respect for the Right of Peoples and Nations to Self-determination, and the Draft Convention on the Nationality of Married Women.

IX. UN TECHNICAL ASSISTANCE AND UNDERDEVELOPED COUNTRIES

A resolution was approved confirming the allocation of \$39,734,085 by the Technical Assistance Committee, another requesting the Economic and Social Council to continue efforts to obtain maximum efficiency and coordination of UN technical assistance activities, and inviting governments to give the fullest support to the expanded program.

A resolution was unanimously approved by the Assembly which underdeveloped areas hope will lead to the establishment of a Special UN Fund for Economic Development. It would channel loans and grants to underdeveloped countries for basic projects such as roads and health facilities which would not ordinarily attract foreign investment. It is estimated that \$250 million would be needed to undertake the first year of operation.

RESOURCES:

RECOMMENDATIONS FOR AMENDING CERTAIN PROVISIONS OF THE IMMIGRATION AND NEUTRALITY ACT:

The text of 40 Recommendations, with an Explanatory Statement for each. The areas covered are: The Quota System, Excludability, Deportation, Alien Registration, Administration. A valuable 39 page mimeographed document prepared by the Committee on Legislation of the American Immigration Conference for consideration by its member organizations. The National Council of Churches is one of these. This is not a document of the National Council and goes into specifics beyond their general statement of policy. However, it is listed here as being of real value to individuals and church groups for study and determination of their own action in this field. For copies, address: Department of International Affairs, National Council of Churches, 297 Fourth Avenue, New York 10, N.Y. Please send 20¢ in stamps per copy.

REFUGEES CONFRONT CHURCHES WITH URGENCY FOR ACTION; WRITE CWS FOR MATERIALS

Assurances for more than 30,000 refugees have been sent in to Church World Service by churches to date. However, the rate must be stepped up if the churches are to meet the urgent needs of the "escapees" and refugees in the NATO countries, in Holland particularly, and in Hong Kong. Although the law expires on December 31 of this year, CWS is stressing the fact that May 31 is the deadline for effective processing to get refugees in under time limits of the legislation.

As for Italy and Greece: Enough cases are now in the pipeline to fill quotas, 17,000 for Greece, 60,000 for Italy. So the administration has stopped receiving assurances for immigrants under this law from those countries.

CWS has been cooperating critically and constructively with the present program in seeking to expedite the current lagging rate of security clearance and visa issuance. For assurance blanks and other materials write preferably your communion headquarters or Church World Service, 215 Fourth Avenue, New York 10, N.Y.

POSTERS: "Knowledge Knows No Frontiers" is a new set of Posters, a picture story of UNESCO at work, depicting various phases, including its Voluntary International Assistance Program. This set is designed in response to requests of clubs, religious organizations, educators, conference directors, etc., for visual aids to explain the program of UNESCO. Black and white, 14" x 20", with effective pictures covering the top square (14" x 14"), and a minimum of meaningful comment on the bottom sections. Achievements are presented such as unification of Braille alphabets; the establishment of the European Organization for Nuclear Research; the establishment of the first free public library in 1951 in India in joint sponsorship; eliminating of tariffs on books, newspapers and works of art; and social science projects. Text of the closing poster: "THE FAMILY OF MAN. In changing Africa, in awakening Asia, in the lonely Andes, in the laboratories of the West, knowledge knows no frontiers. When a school opens in India, the future is brighter for the factory hand in England. When a biologist isolates a virus in the United States, the children of a couple in Senegal may be saved. Mutual understanding and co-operation among all members of the human family is the goal of UNESCO." 16 posters, \$1.00; UNESCO Publications Center, 475 Fifth Avenue, New York.

This Newsletter is published 10 times per year, Sept. through June, by the Dept. of International Affairs of the National Council of Churches; the Honorable Ernest A. Gross, Chairman; Dr. Walter W. Van Kirk, Executive Director; Dr. Kenneth L. Maxwell, Associate Executive Director, editor of the Newsletter. It is prepared by the staff to provide specialized information for education and action on current issues. Viewpoints expressed in it should not necessarily be regarded as the policy of the Dept. or of the National Council of Churches. It is designed for denominational and council secretaries; national, state and local committees; ministers, laymen, women and young people who wish to keep up with the work of the churches in this field. Subscription: \$1.00 per year.